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LENIN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF OUR PEOPLE

- NORTH VIETNAM -

by Pham Van Dong

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## FOREWORD

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## LENIN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF OUR PEOPLE

- NORTH VIETNAM -

Following is a translation of an article by Pham Van Dong in the Vietnamese-language newspaper Nhan Dan, Hanoi, No. 2226, 22 April 1960.

More than in any other time, Lenin lives in our time, which is the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

More than at any other time, Lenin lives in the soul and in the actions of those who build a new society, the Communist society in the Soviet Union, the society of socialist regimes in other peoples' republics. The socialist countries are transformed into a global regime and are progressing as in a thunder.

More than at any other time, Lenin lives in the workers' movements in the capitalist countries, in the movements for the liberation in the countries of oppressed peoples, and in the movements which oppose capitalist wars for the sake of preserving peace.

Lenin lives in the world's trends today.

The whole world today is affected by the deep implications of Lenin's actions and thoughts.

The twentieth century is Lenin's century.

Through a glimpse, Lenin has caught the nature and the determinants of progress in society; he has seen the future through the present. He has foreseen the victory of the revolution of the proletariat as well as the victory of socialism from one country to many countries all over the world.

The Leninist theory is a science in its loftiest meaning; that is, it not only endeavors to understand the world, but also it engages in changing it altogether.

Stalin has defined the theory of Lenin as "the Marxist theory during the imperialist period and the period of the revolution of the proletariat. In more precise terms, the theory of Lenin is the theory and the teachings of the revolution of the proletariat in general, and the theory and the teachings of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."

At the beginning of this century, Lenin said: "The world is entering the phase of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism. The revolution of the proletariat is becoming a direct factor in the capitalist countries; the oppressed peoples in the East are awakening, and are the closest and most powerful fighters of the revolution of the proletariat. The parties following the Marxist lines must be ready, and prepared for the revolution in order to overthrow the rule

of the bourgeois classes, to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to build socialism."

At the outbreak of the World War of 1914-1918, Lenin saw the opportunity for the revolution. In October 1917, Lenin took the leadership of the Bolshevik Party to success, and created the Soviet state, thus setting up the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the history of the world.

Lenin is "the talented mind of the revolution." Lenin's ideas, theory and active life are the symbols of the most determined, most courageous and most extensive spirit of the revolution of the proletariat. Imperialism is capitalism in its last period of coma, History has engraved in its agenda the records of the revolution of the proletariat. The party of the proletariat, that is the newly fashioned party, must raise its spirit and fervor to the level of the needs of the revolution, must struggle and maintain the leadership in the hands of the proletariat, must mobilize, organize and lead the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the conduct of the revolution and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party is the vanguard and the military staff of proletariat. The party is the organizer of the successes of the revolution of the proletariat.

After the success of the revolution of the proletariat, even though success had been attained only in one country, the first socialist country of the world was faced with the greatest and most complex tasks of a period of history: that is the period of advancing towards socialism at great speed. Lenin has cleared the road of the revolution from the point of ideology in that period, and left a legacy of enlightened policies aiming at strengthening the state apparatus of the dictatorship and building socialism.

Lenin's theories and revolutionary record are the history of a long revolutionary struggle against the ruling classes at that period on the one hand, and against the tendencies of opportunism and revisionism on the other. History has shown that Lenin is victorious, that the October Revolution is successful, that the Soviet state is set up, the Soviet Union comes into being and is growing strong as it is today. At the same time, Lenin's theories have shattered to pieces the theories and arguments of a false and treacherous socialism. In order to wage a successful struggle against the bourgeois classes, it is necessary to fight against the nonproletarian trends among the classes of workers. During his lifetime, Lenin struggled in an uncompromising way to maintain the purity of Marxist doctrine, and to develop to the utmost the revolutionary spirit of the workers' classes.

Working in the period of imperialism, Lenin saw a very new and very important phenomenon: the revolutionary movement of all the oppressed peoples of the world on the march.

In 1913, in a newspaper article entitled, "The Historic Fate of Marxist Ideology," Lenin analyzes the development of Marxism through the important historic periods: 1848-1871, 1871-1905, 1905 and afterwards, and concludes: "From the time of the conception of Marxism,

each of the three historic moments brings new proofs and new successes to Marxist theories. Besides, the next historic period will bring more glorious successes to Marxism."

In that article, Lenin elaborates on an important factor of that glorious success, i.e., the revolutionary movement in Asia that Lenin called a hurricane. Lenin wrote: "We are living at present in the very period of those big hurricanes.... Trailing behind the Asiatic continent, Europe begins to stir, but that is not in the same fashion as the Asiatic continent."

In other articles, Lenin has more than once referred to the revolutionary movement in Asia. He said: "In Asia, a powerful democratic movement is on the rise; it gets bigger and stronger. That vast movement imparts a great deal of enthusiasm in the hearts of enlightened workers, because these people know that the road of collectivism passes through democracy." (In other words, it means that the road of socialism passes through the democratic revolution.)

We had better stop here to see more clearly the spirit and feelings of Lenin towards the movement for the liberation of peoples. Lenin saw that movement on the rise, growing bigger and stronger, just like the force of the rising tide which overthrows destructively every reactionary force of Asia and Europe combined. Lenin's statements are full of joy and confidence. Lenin saw in the oppressed peoples the faithful allies of the working classes. This alliance is the successful factor of the revolutionary movement for socialism in the capitalist countries, and of the movement for the liberation of oppressed peoples in the colonies.

In the movement for the liberation of the peoples in Asia at that time, Lenin saw a fundamental and profound fact: that is the movement of democracy, i.e., of bourgeois democracy. It is against imperialism and against feudalism, and it will advance to socialism, with the leadership of workers' classes, on the basis of the alliance between workers and peasants. Let us repeat what Lenin has said: "The road to collectivism passes through democracy." At the beginning of this century, in the very period of imperialism, Lenin saw the unity of the revolutionary movement led by the working classes. The enemy is one: capitalism; the struggle is one: to overthrow the capitalist regime; the leadership belongs to one: the workers' classes and their party; and the revolutionary ideology is one: the Marxist-Leninist ideology. That is the most fundamental reality of our time. Following the October Revolution, that reality gives an ever brighter glow. Now, that reality is engraved deeply into the lives of the peoples of the world, and into the progress of mankind.

Lenin has a high estimate of the revolutionary potentiality in the liberation of peoples. He said, "Asia progresses forward; Europe is backward;" the revolutionary movement of Asia has the power of pushing and attracting the revolutionary movement of the European continent. How right is Lenin in his forecast of the development of the revolutionary movement in the world during the last decades and in future times.

How glorious that is for the peoples of the Asiatic continent! Exactly as Lenin has forecast, Asia has arisen! The Chinese people has arisen! The people of Korea, the people of Vietnam have arisen! The peoples of the African nations are beginning to rise! The peoples of Latin America take their turn to rise! The colonial policies are disintegrating. The rearguard of imperialism is becoming the forefront for the giant struggle between two worlds.

Lenin is right when he said: the road to socialism passes through the revolutionary movement of the peoples and through democracy under many forms, at the proper places and in the proper moments.

Lenin's statements on the movement for the liberation of oppressed peoples are not only the truth of ideology as a half century ago, but they are also the living truth, and the truth of life itself.

Nowadays the Soviet Union is working to build socialism. Socialism is making great strides in China and in other socialist countries. Nowadays, all the socialist countries are the strong, the unselfish and the truthful, "the unique allies" as Lenin called them, of the peoples who have attained independence or who are still struggling in order to liberate themselves. The solidarity between the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples is a form of alliance between workers and peasants on a global scale. Nowadays the road of extensive liberation of all oppressed peoples is the very road that Lenin has outlined, and that is the road of transition from the revolution of the peoples and democracy to the revolution for socialism, the road of revolution of the Vietnamese people.

Our party came into being 30 years ago. It was a newly fashioned party, set up after the model of the main party of the proletariat. The founders of our party, led by Comrade Nguyen-ai-Quoc, were Lenin's disciples. The success of our people and of our party is the success of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in our country.

We ought to recall the historic struggle of our people under the leadership of the party, and we had better be mindful of the arguments that Lenin advanced about the revolutionary record in a country like ours. We ought to read once again the book Two Tactics in order to see that Lenin seemed to outline our road to the revolution, from the revolution of the people and democracy to the revolution for socialism, in other words, we do exactly what Lenin has prescribed.

In Two Tactics, Lenin said over and over again a fundamental fact: that the working classes and the main party of the workers will stand up, resolutely and courageously leading the whole population, especially the peasants, in order to carry out the democratic revolution, to set up a democratic republic, and finally they will lead all the working people in the revolution for socialism! Lenin said: "The proletariat must be the vanguard in the struggle for a republican regime."

Lenin has shown the close links between the democratic revolution and the revolution for socialism. He said, "All the followers of Kautsky ... do not understand the relationship between the democratic bourgeois revolution and the revolution of the proletariat. The first revolution will be transformed into the second revolution. The second revolution will solve finally all the problems of the first revolution. The second revolution also will strengthen the achievements of the first revolution. Struggle, for it is only struggle which determines the conditions for the second revolution to go beyond the first revolution."

Those statements by Lenin spotlighted the record of the revolutionary struggle of our party, and today, from the point of view of our nation, we realize how profound are Lenin's statements.

Today we are determined to bring North Vietnam on the road to socialism. That has been the determination of our people for many decades, from the time they first followed the party's lead. It was really Lenin who was the leader showing us the right way, the way of by-passing the stage of development of capitalism and advancing directly to socialism, when the revolution of the people and of democracy will occur with the help of the advanced socialist countries.

The rich and lively realities of North Vietnam prove that we are in the process of improving socialism and building successfully a socialist society. One cannot imagine that such a rapid development could be achieved under another regime. In the years to come we will finish the tasks of improving socialism, and we will engage ourselves in the advancement of socialism. The political, economic, cultural, and social aspects will be renovated, and the life of the people of North Vietnam will be different from before. Within a relatively short historic time, we are able to transform a country backward in every aspect into an advanced nation, a well developed economy, an advanced culture with a happy life for every person.

In order to advance steadily towards the tasks of improving and building, in order to build the material and technological foundations of socialism, while at the same time educating the workers in the working methods and ways of life of socialism, our party must implement constructively the Marxist-Leninist theories.

From the beginning, our party has aptly combined the Marxist-Leninist theories with the revolutionary realities of our country; we are able to implement the Marxist-Leninist theories on the basis of the conditions and particularities of our country. Knowing that, we are victorious in our August Revolution, as well as in the tasks of improving socialism and of building the present socialist society.

Lenin has often said: Marxism is not a dogma; it is a guide in the revolutionary activities.

Lenin often repeats the declarations of the poet Gorki who said that every theory is of the same gray color, but only life is green like plant life.

The Marxist and Leninist theories are the lively reflections of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working people. They are life with many hues, many forms, always changing and always green.

The Marxist-Leninist theories are the light, the torch showing the way, and the source of success. To get rid of the Marxist-Leninist theory is to be disoriented, to be lost, and to fail. In our country nowadays we must carry out the revolution for socialism in North Vietnam and to bring to an end the people's revolution and democracy in South Vietnam. What will we do, we, the followers of Marxism-Leninism? What should we do in North Vietnam? How can we effect the improvement of socialism? How can we build a socialist society? How should the industrialization of socialism be carried out? How should the economic and cultural development be brought about? How should the state of the people's democracy be strengthened and developed? The Marxist-Leninist theories are the compass, and we must hold firm to the principle of Marxism-Leninism. We must hold firm to the compass, and at the same time, we must stand firmly on the realities of our country, our people, our revolutionary struggle, i.e., we must know how to combine the principle of Marxism-Leninism with the practical aspects of our revolution.

Lenin said: "All the peoples will advance to socialism, that fact cannot be avoided, but not all the peoples advance to socialism with absolutely similar methods. Each race carries its particular characteristics about one form or another of democracy, about one kind or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat, about one rate or another in the tasks of improving socialism in every aspect of social life."

Marxism-Leninism requires continuous initiative to meet changes in the situation and in life. Our party must be continuously armed with Marxism-Leninism in order to be the leader of the people in new achievements, in the building of North Vietnam and in the unification of the Fatherland.

We must learn without interruption Marxism-Leninism, and study the works of Marx and Lenin.

In order to implement creatively Marxism-Leninism, we must start from the facts and particularities of our country. What are those facts and particularities? In order to have the right, profound and clear view of the conditions and particularities of our country, we must have recourse to the light of Marxism-Leninism, have the eyes and mind of Marx and Lenin. It means that we have to study, study, study without interruption the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

To study the principles of Marxism-Leninism means to know how to use these principles creatively, to have the Marxist-Leninist outlook, and to use the viewpoint and methods of Marxism-Leninism to see and solve the problems. Thus, study and action must go hand in hand and cannot be separated.



At present, our party has favorable conditions to study Marxism-Leninism in a practical and useful way, that is, the relationship with the activities and life, and we have the rich experience of 30 years of struggle for the revolution. Through the practical reality of our party, we are able to know more profoundly and more abundantly the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its substance and its soul. That is the lively experience of each of us. We realize now that on reading the works of Lenin, we are able to understand better than before! Thus, it is necessary to devote more time to reading the works of Marx and Lenin. The study of their works through reading, research and comparison must be the regular study of every one of us. It is necessary to view it as a revolutionary duty and as an urgent occupation. It is necessary to see it as a habit, as an inner urge and as a source of pleasure. After reading every work of Lenin, especially those books which bear a relationship to our revolutionary struggle, we are able to realize that reading Lenin is such a great thing! Like the works of Marx, the works of Lenin are the food for thought of the Communists, because they communicate to our souls a great deal of strength, light and fervor. Lenin's sentences are sharp like a sword at the moment of injuring the enemy, hard like steel at the time of confidence in the success of the revolution, but also full of love and conviction with regard to the working people, full of solid and clear arguments and lively sentences, pregnant with revolutionary fervor. We should translate and publish more of Lenin's works. (The translation must be accurate in substance and in form, and able to bring into relief the spirit and the color of Lenin's sentences. The translation of Lenin is an accomplishment, and an endeavor. Doing it lightly is not accurate and does no good.) The worker, the manual laborer, and the intellectual of our country must read with enthusiasm more of Lenin's works. What Lenin said to us are not things which are far-fetched or difficult to understand: they are things of prime importance for our destiny and life. For instance: Lenin said that it is necessary to educate every person, every housewife in the ways of management of the state. The people of North Vietnam at present fully understand that deep statement, although simple, and they not only understand but also practice it, especially our sister workers who come to grasp it fully and enthusiastically.

To summarize, we must be more familiar with Lenin, know more about the life of Lenin, the actions of Lenin; we must study and do research on Lenin on his practical implications and creatively implement Lenin's theories.

The new and ever greater achievements of the revolutionary activities of our party and of our people amount to the achievements of Marxism-Leninism.

That fact is true in Vietnam, and it is true in other nations.

In the history of mankind, people used to say in Asia that every road leads to the wisdom of Lord Buddha, and in Europe that every road leads to Rome. Nowadays, every road leads to Marxism-Leninism, and to socialism.